

Review of INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

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ITALIAN FOREIGN POLICY

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A GREAT SCIENTIST

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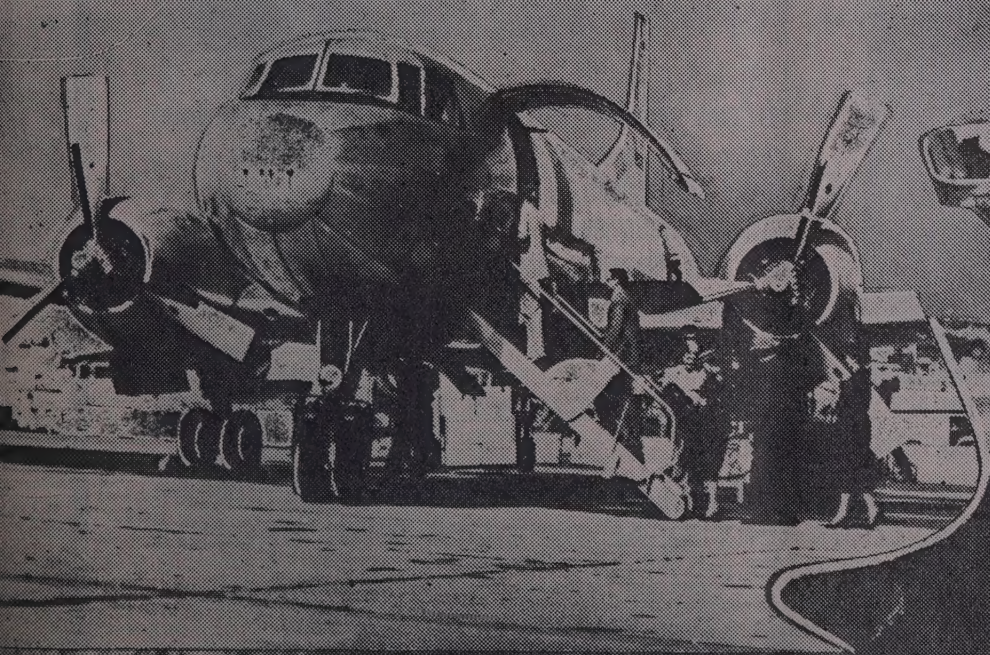
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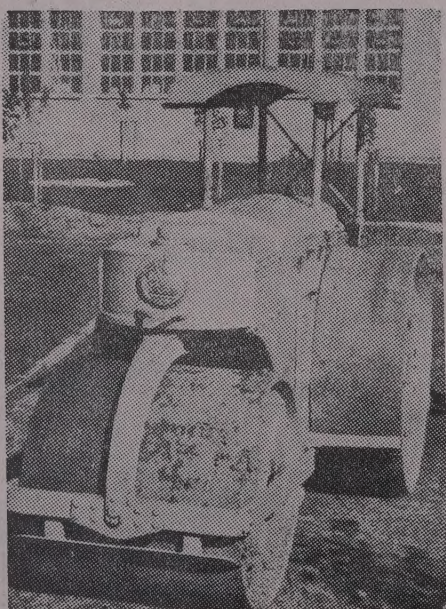
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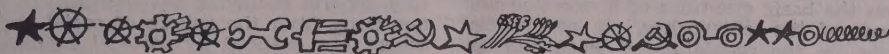
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May Day 1955

THE FIRST day of May 1955! The holiday which stands for the eternal youth of the world, the eternal symbol of the new. The holiday which destroys the barriers separating individuals and nations and builds bridges of solidarity above all the horizons. The holiday which looks ahead and hence carries the future with it.

For the peoples of Yugoslavia this May Day too — the eleventh to be celebrated in a free homeland — is a joyful occasion because of the results achieved, and a stimulation for new efforts: we are celebrating it in an atmosphere of self-government, in the midst of new efforts for the expansion of socialist democracy.

Free and independent, the working people of our country are today making a review of their achievements, inspired by the great ideas of fraternity and tolerance in the world so that hatred and humiliations could disappear, so that peoples might live side by side in peace and creative activity, without fears and anxieties, united in the efforts to ensure the use of the greatest discovery of science only for the general good of mankind.



Duro SALAJ

President of the Yugoslav Trade Union Federation



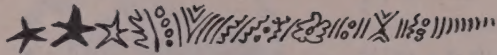
Position and Role of Trade Unions in Yugoslavia's Development

THE post-war development of Yugoslavia is characterized by new social relations, occurring on the basis of socialization of the means of production and the dominant role of the working class as the economic and political upholder of these new relations.

Such development and position of the working class in society, have exercised a decisive influence on the role and character of trade unions which adapted themselves to the big social changes which have been carried out in Yugoslavia during the last ten years. In this respect two stages are clearly outlined with an essentially different role and position of trade unions, their ways of approaching the settlement of individual problems and their methods of work.

In the first years following the liberation, acting under the conditions of an economy in the throes of disorder as a consequence of war devastation and general backwardness, when the building of the new state authority was only beginning — the trade unions were engaged in the work of eco-

nomic reconstruction and building of the economic system, and also undertook certain actions on their own which were to contribute to the improvement of the standard of living of the working class (in the sphere of supply, food, housing etc). Their basic activity was aimed at the preservation of achievements of the working class and strengthening and consolidation of its economic positions. The significant social role of trade unions in the activation of the working class for increased production and raising of the productivity of labour, that is, for the development of the productive forces, was aimed at a quicker creation of the material basis as a condition for the raising of the living standard and preservation of the new social relations which were being established. Without such activity of trade unions in that period, it would be impossible to imagine the overcoming of the basic difficulties and a relatively rapid economic development such as Yugoslavia saw in the first post-liberation years.



The successes scored in this period constituted the essential condition for the removal of backwardness, which the new Yugoslavia inherited from the pre-war state in all the fields, and provided for the transition to the new stage of social development, for the realization of the principle of workers' management. Under these new conditions, the role and character of trade unions were also fundamentally changed so that they constitute an important novelty, both theoretically and practically, for the trade union movement.

The social development in Yugoslavia during the last five years has been characterized by the materialization of the principle of workers' management, which started with the creation of the first workers' councils with limited rights, in a number of enterprises, early in 1950, that is, with the passing of the Law in June 1950 when the enterprises, as general social property, were handed over for actual management by direct producers. By the establishment of the organs of self-management in the enterprises, (along with the simultaneous decentralization in the management by the state organs and abolition of the central state organs which had previously managed economy — Ministries and various Directorates) the workers acquired the right to decide independently on the basic questions of production and on economic problems of the enterprises, on commercial and financial business, on the regulation of wage and salary questions as well as on other problems in connexion with working conditions in the enterprises.

Parallel with the workers' management in economy, these democratic principles have been realized in the organization of government, especially through the independent working of communes, which are being developed as a basis of the social and political organization of the country. The self-government of the working people is being established in other spheres as well: in the sphere of social insurance (controlled by the insureds themselves through the organs of self-government) in the field of health, education and culture (by the setting up of the social organs of management in these institutions) etc.

Through such a system, hundreds of thousands of working people and citizens in Yugoslavia decide today, by way of direct activity, about the basic questions of the country's social development, about all the basic questions in the sphere of economy, social and cultural policy and about the general policy of the living standard improvements.

Thus in the course of 1954 alone, over 115 thousand workers and employees were members of workers' councils; in enterprises with less than 30 workers, where the entire collective constitutes the workers' council, over 85 thousand workers and employees were involved in management; in the district and town councils of producers there were 13 500 members (as direct representatives of work collectives); in the assemblies of the Institute for Social Insurance there are over 12 thousand insureds, and in the management boards of health institutions over 5 thousand health workers and other citizens. Tens of thousands of citizens are taking part in the local bodies of government, in the bodies for the administration of apartment buildings and other communal institutions. — as members of various social organizations which also perform important social functions.

The workers' management has released the maximum initiative of the working class and strengthened its social consciousness and responsibility before the community for governing moral and material values.

The working class has definitely become the basic, decisive factor of the whole social development.

Under such conditions it is understandable why workers are primarily oriented towards these social organs of theirs for the settlement of their daily problems.

Such development was bound to be reflected both on the role and character of trade unions in Yugoslavia and on their method of work. Important social functions still remain for the trade unions in all fields of economic development and solution of social problems of the working class. But now, in the new circumstances, their role and method of work are essentially changed in the settlement of these problems. The working class is no longer confronted by any social forces which might endanger its interests. Neither private capitalists, nor centralized state apparatus as a government organ are here any more to decide, behind the back of the working class, about economic and social policy of the distribution of goods produced by the working class. Now all these questions are set out as internal problems of the working class itself, about which it decides through its social organs. Therefore, the trade unions are no longer required to perform their protective function in the old way. In the system of economic democracy, which develops through an abundance of forms of social self-government, the trade unions are becoming themselves one of self-governing organizations with definite important social functions.

The basic activity of trade unions is now directed, naturally and above all, towards the strengthening and further development of the system of workers' management, as they are thus able to care most successfully for the general interests of the working class. Their social role lies significantly in the settlement of the social and economic problems of the working class, in the realization of their protective function, which in the present phase of development of workers' management remains an important field of trade union activity although the character and methods of the organization have considerably changed.

The trade unions are taking an active part in directing general economic development, in regulating the basic questions from the sphere of social and labour legislation, which are ensured by Federal regulations and uniformly passed for the whole country. They are frequently the initiators for the settlement of individual questions who see to it that the general interests of the working class as well as of workers and employees in individual economic branches or services, are properly ensured.

With various forms of educational and political activity for the improvement of the general cultural, professional and economic education of the working class — the trade unions are contributing their share in making workers capable of fully realizing their self-governing rights, of acquiring the necessary training for executing production tasks and realizing their managing functions. In view of the present conditions, this activity of the trade unions is all the more significant when one bears in mind the rapid increase of working class whose numbers necessarily followed the rapid rate of the country's industrialization, and the structure of manpower, which is mostly recruited from the countryside. To raise the cultural level of these workers, develop their sense for collective work and work discipline, check their small-holding conceptions brought from the village, accustom them to see their individual interests in the general interest — this in the current phase constitutes one of the most important fields of trade union activity, which objectively contributes to the strengthening of workers' management and its further development.

Participating in the entire social life of the country, the trade unions centre their attention and activity especially on the economic problems, on the basic questions of the living standard whether it is a question of investment policy, wage system or social welfare. Hence the trade unions actively follow the general economic policy of the country and particularly internal distribution of the national income, viewing it both from the standpoint of the country's general development and from that of its reflection on the living standard of the working class.

The trade unions also take an active part in implementing the general social policy as well as in the settlement of individual questions in the framework of enterprises or in the commune area. They help the self-government organs in their work seeing to it that the individual questions of workers are settled through correct decisions of the self-government organs and that proper relations are established between the various categories of workers in the enterprises; they see to it that workers are rewarded for their participation in production on the basis of their actual contribution to the community and

that their rights are legally realized in the field of labour and social legislation.

The most important field in which the trade unions participate in the realization of these tasks is, above all, the field of the wage and salary policy. In this field the trade unions have directly responsible functions, but they also have a possibility for exercising significant influence on the conducting of a suitable wage and salary policy.

The basic role of the trade unions in regulating wage questions is their participation in drawing up wage scales for enterprises, regulating wage relations (i. e. fixing wages for every post and establishing wage relations in the enterprise between work posts, and between categories of workers and employees). The wage scales are drawn up jointly by the workers' councils, people's committees and trade unions. The tripartite drawing up of wage scales has been introduced for the purpose of harmonizing both individual interests of workers and employees of an enterprise and between economic branches as well as to harmonize interest of the enterprises of the same type in the area of different local communities, so that workers and employees could in principle be equally rewarded for the same work.

For the implementation of this policy the trade unions have a possibility for exercising influence also through commissions whose task is to follow the working out and harmonizing of internal relations, that is harmonizing general wage relations through wage scales in various enterprises, as well as in the settlement of disputes which might occur between work collectives, organs of authority and trade unions, in the drawing up of wage scales which are settled in courts of arbitration where trade unions have their representatives. It should be specially emphasized that the participation of trade union representatives in the court of arbitration has a quite different character from arbitration in West European countries, as in Yugoslav courts of arbitration trade union representatives do not sit together with representatives of the proprietors of the enterprise but with members of the workers' councils that is, with men who are also workers.

The function of trade unions is also significant in the field of the direct protection of labour, in the questions of the implementation of regulations governing the establishment, duration and cessation of employment. The trade unions care for the ensurance of legality in regulating daily, weekly and annual rest, and protect workers from illegal dismissals (these questions are also settled by the courts of arbitration where the trade unions have their representatives). An important field of trade union activity is the ensuring of safety measures during work — by giving the initiative for the improvement of work conditions, as well as cooperation with labour inspection, whose task is to control the observance of rules on hygienic and technical labour conditions.

The trade unions especially care for the proper application of existing rules regulating the working conditions and settlement of social problems of employed women and working youth. They see to it that the principle of equal rewards to women and men for equal work be consistently implemented, that regulations on the prohibition of rough work and work detrimental for women's health be scrupulously observed, that the rights of expectant mothers and nursing mothers be safeguarded. A more favourable regulation of working conditions for women (abolition of night work, shorter working hours, development of the network of children's institutions, care for the improvement of working conditions in the households, comprehensive interest in the training and material situation of working youth etc.) is always in the focus of attention of trade union activity.

An important concern of trade unions is the care for unemployed workers and office employees, either with a view to providing new employment (cooperation with labour exchanges) or for ensuring the material and social position of the unemployed as guaranteed by the law. Unemployed members are also entitled to a certain material assistance from trade union funds.

In the field of social insurance too, the trade unions have an important role, both in the legal regulation of individual questions and in the care for ensuring legality in the implementation of regulations under social insurance, and they are also active in following and helping development of democratic organs of self-government in the social insurance.

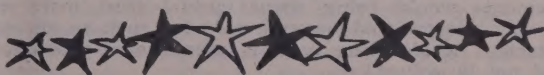
The trade unions care, furthermore, for the proper and reasonable use of funds which, as part of the surplus of labour, remain to enterprises above the regular profits and after the fulfilment of financial obligations towards the social community — by distributing a part for the increase of regular earnings, and using the rest for enlargement of the enterprise, for the building of flats, health and cultural institutions attached to the enterprise etc.

An important addition to the general activity of trade unions in the realization of their protective role and all-round care for the social and economic problems of the working class, is reflected in the active participation of trade union organizations in the communal policy of municipalities and districts respectively, through which housing problems, social food problems as well as the basic conditions for cultural life and activity etc — important questions for the living and cultural standard of the working class are solved.

In the structure of their entire activity, the trade unions have also some special tasks inside the organization, such as creation of favourable conditions for the cultural and social entertainment as well as organizing recreation and rest facilities, organizing various institutions of cultural, educational as well as artistic character, organizing workers' rest homes, excursion resorts etc.

In the realization of these tasks, the trade unions cooperate with the authorities or social organs of government and thus at the same time assume part of the social responsibilities for taking these decisions wherein lies a specific quality of their new role. But, in the present phase of development of the socialist democracy certain negative manifestations may appear in the form of guild tendencies and bureaucratic conceptions and relations of individual organs of management in relation to workers' interests. Such manifestations are possible especially under the conditions of inadequately developed productive forces, inadequately developed conscience and unstable character of the organs of social management themselves. Hence the trade unions have an important function of organizing control over the work of the organs of self-government, as well as of individual organs of authority, in the elimination of unsocial and illegal manifestations. Such a social role of the trade unions helps the development and strengthening of the democratic principle of self-government and strengthens and promotes the new socialist morality created under these conditions. General interests of the whole working class and its individual parts, are expressed through such trade union activity.

This significant social role of trade unions on the social-political plane is supplemented by their international activity. As a representative of the working class which in its own country fought for its historical rights and won them, while it solves its basic questions through a very developed system of direct democracy — the Federation of Yugoslav Trade Unions naturally, in international relations also, starts from democratic principles, which are expressed through a policy of equal relations, non-interference in the internal affairs of others and respecting of their rights to independent settlement of their own problems. On these principles alone is it possible to establish mutual international cooperation of the workers' movements and trade unions of various countries, to realize international unity and solidarity of the working class of the whole world in the struggle for democratic social progress and ensure mutual influencing and conveying of positive experiences between countries. It is on the principles of such policy in international relations that the Yugoslav trade unions have created and are today expanding friendly, comradely relations with the trade union organizations in a series of countries.





Interview with Signor Martino, Italian Foreign Minister

The Editorial Staff of the „Review of International Affairs“ has requested Signor Gaetano Martino, the Italian Minister of Foreign Affairs, to answer some questions. Signor Martino has kindly complied with our request, and has sent us the following answers in a written form:

QUESTION: The policy of coexistence is being increasingly mentioned as an effective instrument in international cooperation and in the efforts to eliminate all dangers of a new war. How do you, Sir, view the problem of securing world peace under present conditions?

ANSWER: It is not at all easy to make a clear statement on the best way of preserving world peace in a situation as it is today. It is perhaps necessary to narrow the problem a little. As far as our Europe is concerned, I have several times expressed my opinion, and the developments in the last few weeks have not made me change my mind. On the contrary, I still believe that an effective restriction of armaments would be the best way of achieving lasting pacification and, thus, also coexistence which pays due attention to the demands of the people for the preservation of the most valued thing: peace in freedom. This, naturally, is not the aim which could be reached in only several weeks, or even several months. But, even so, we must have clear ideas and the will to achieve them. It could perhaps be possible somewhere to undertake an action so as to improve the atmosphere. In the meantime, one thing seems obvious to me. With the Paris Agreements, which are about to be finally approved, we have established a principle and a method which might become widely applied. A decisive step will perhaps be taken when other interested parties make out the peaceful will of the West and agree to study the possibilities which that principle and method offers. For, the problem of armaments is, in fact, the source of all our difficulties. An agreement on controlled restrictions of armaments would bring about mutual trust more easily than any international convention. And if such an agreement is reached, would there be any international problem that could not be solved?

QUESTION: Can you tell us what the fundamental elements of Italy's attitude towards the present situation in Europe are? What do you think about the

development of Italo-Yugoslav relations after the London Agreement?

ANSWER: The fundamental principle of Italian foreign policy is the principle of understanding with all nations. Unanimity with those who with us share the same ideas on the way of life was, naturally, easy to reach, and it was reached all the quicker. But, in the opinion of the Italian Government there can be no talk about any exclusiveness if the principle of non-interference in our domestic affairs is loyally respected. After all — with this I also answer your third question — it was precisely this principle that enabled us, not only to conclude the London Agreement, but also to clear up many things in our relations, and so start the gradual strengthening of the spirit of cooperation which remains to be the fundamental aim of the Agreement, and which will serve both our own interests and the interests of peace. The visit of the Italian Minister for Trade to Belgrade, the mission of Signor Storoni, the visit of Ambassador Pavlič and Minister Karabegović to Rome, the recent visit of the Yugoslav Deputy Prime Minister, Vukmanović, to the Milan Fair, and the trade agreements signed in Rome, are the proofs of the fortunate development of our relations, which some time ago were, to say the least, not very cordial.

This, however, does not mean that no difficulties are encountered in applying the Agreement in practice. But, our joint will to achieve better understanding and cooperation will enable us to overcome these difficulties too. Thus, to take only one example, I sincerely wish that a solution be found to the problem of fishing in the Adriatic as soon as possible for the good of Italian fishermen. The frequent confiscations of Italian trawlers do not, I am sure, contribute to the setting up of the atmosphere of understanding which we really desire, and for which so much has been done already. It should not be difficult to find a solution — which would pay due attention both to the justified Yugoslav interests and to the urgent needs of the fishermen from the Italian coast — if both sides keep in mind that amity in the Adriatic must become one of the fundamental elements of Italo-Yugoslav friendship.

OPINIONS ON ACTUAL PROBLEMS

COEXISTENCE AS A SYSTEM OF INTERNATIONAL ORDER

by

Ljuba RADOVANOVIC

Ambassador in the State Secretariat for Foreign Affairs

WHAT should be taken as basis for the practice of relations between nations, what should be the foundation of the order in which the peoples have their dealings?

Today this problem is more pressing than ever. Man has come into possession of some means which can not only defeat his weaker neighbour across the border, or ensure his power across the sea — so far his forces usually reached in the past — but which can lead to apocalyptic destruction and self-annihilation. That is why discussions on the discovery of a system of international order, which will preserve peace, are today incomparably more serious than formerly.

International policy in this post-war period has compromised not only the possibility for the settlement of international disputes in the framework of traditional methods of international practice, but also the very stability of the international order generally. It is not a question of whether it will be possible to settle these disputes and how, but whether it will be possible to exist at all and for how long. Mankind is divided into hostile blocs, whose ways, should they persist in them, must inevitably end in a fatal collision. Such an order does not rest on its own solid internal foundations of an international community, but relies on force. And every force is relative, and today every force can be surpassed by another one. The bloc policy may be a policy of defence, but it cannot be a policy of peace.

The policy of coexistence is a policy of peace which eliminates violence and intolerance as methods in international relations. It considers that the peoples cannot have decisions thrust upon them either in international policy or in their internal life. The imposed solutions are unilateral and as a rule they are not lasting. They may be called for by necessity, as war solutions, but no war solution has ever served as a lasting basis for peace. The policy of coexistence endeavours to avoid war solutions by introducing the spirit of cooperation and tolerance in international relations and by believing that this method will help to remove contradictions which lead to war.

Like all other great principles, the principles of coexistence contain a simple truth, easily comprehensible and obvious to all, but like many of these great truths, coexistence also meets with doubt and lack of understanding. Other methods are preferred — methods which seem quicker and more direct. The policy of coexistence is, however, the policy of constructive and peaceful international cooperation, regardless of the differences of political and social order between nations. It is based on the mutual respect for sovereignty, equality and integrity, on non-interference in the internal life and on the right of every people to decide by itself and define the forms and content of its internal organization. These are not new rules of international conduct, but as a conception of policy, they have a new and special meaning in present world conditions. When these conditions are borne in mind, then this policy appears a heroic policy, as it demands not only a change of ideas which have long been

ruling in international relations, but also certain renunciations: the one who believes in his strength and who has accumulated it — is asked to renounce this strength as a means of policy; the one who hates and despises another's way of life — is asked to respect that way of life.

Almost all the principles on which the policy of coexistence is based, are included in the theoretical systems of international law, but rarely have they been implemented in the practical systems of international relations. Actual practice consisted in the policy of the balance of power which is still manifested through the policy of blocs, and which has been ruling in international relations, in various forms, and little pauses since the Treaty of Westphalia. The policy of coexistence opposes the policy of the balance of power and policy of blocs not only as a moral solution, but also as practical policy.

The policy of the balance of power, as a system, was applied for the first time after the Thirty Years' War. This system should have held in itself the key of peace. But the wars, through which Europe has passed during the three hundred years since that time, are the best testimony of the efficaciousness of the balance of power as a principle of international order. Of course, wars are not only the result of international order, but also of many other conditions and factors, but it forms the framework in which these conditions occur and in which these factors develop.

The policy of the balance of power, sets the international order on a mechanical principle of mutual operation of balanced forces. This is physics applied to human relations. Therefore, it does not tend to remove the causes of war, nor does it tend to establish international cooperation, which is to prevent development of contradictions between nations, and does not constitute a constructive principle for the building of peace, but mutual ensurance against attack which perhaps both sides have in mind, but which both fear.

The principle of balance is a principle which contains the tendencies of its own negation. This is a static principle applied to dynamic relations, — a principle whose statics are constantly evaded by this dynamism of relations. The maintenance of forces in a relation of balance hence means constant increase of these forces, which operate against each other and which disturb that balance. The policy of balance is, actually, the policy of the strengthening of military power between the opposing forces, one of which wishes to turn the relation of these forces to its own advantage, while the other wishes to prevent this. Hence the policy of balance does not create a favourable atmosphere for the development of international cooperation, but for the elimination of rival competition. It has been manifested in various forms, and is being manifested today in military blocs and in the increase of nuclear armaments. Hence the policy of balance has never been a policy for the ensurance of lasting peace.

The policy of balance was practised through history in various ways. It was first expressed in the policy of direct and quasi equal strengthening of the rival powers

through division of territory. This was the conception of the Westphalian Congress. In the name of this principle — to mention only one example — Russia, Austria and Prussia partitioned Poland three times, in order to avoid upsetting the balance. Wars ended with congresses, at which the great powers took the territory of other nations in order to adjust the balance to the power which had increased after the war. This principle was extended by and by to the division of colonies — again with a view to ensure equal strengthening and just division in the interests of security.

The principle of the maintenance of balance by territorial compensations was bound to be finally exhausted. On the other hand, it was rendered difficult by the appearance of nationalist movements in the name of the principle of nationality which was brought by the French Revolution and which gave rise to rebellions and insurrections among the enslaved nations.

The Congress of Vienna opened the second phase in the policy of balance. It was not deprived of its old spirit of compensation but also introduced a new practice of coalescing powers against the strongest one — the first seed of the modern conception of blocs. Its first application was the creation of the Holy Alliance against revolutionary France — an example of the ideological bloc. A French writer called the Holy Alliance „a syndicate of European monarchs” for the maintenance of the feudal and absolutist order, whose existence was threatened by the French Revolution.

A similar procedure in method, if not in spirit, was used later in the policy of collective security, in the grouping of states for the defence of the situation created by international agreements, such as the ententes, Great and Little. We saw that such coalitions were not efficacious, that they could not ensure the state of affairs under agreement, and that they could not maintain a lasting balance of forces, as they failed to remove the causes, from which the rival strength developed.

A special form of the policy of balance was the balance of influence, which led to the division of strategic or economically important areas into spheres of influence. The great powers divided between them the spheres in which they were not to interfere in each others' affairs. This also was justified by the interests of peace. In order to avoid fighting for individual areas, they divided them into spheres of interest. Thus, for instance, Russia and England partitioned Iran, England and France — the Near East, Austria and Russia — the Balkans etc. The last example of such policy of peace was the division of the spheres of interest carried out at Yalta.

The modern expression of the policy of balance is the policy of blocs. The pre-war period of international relations was characterized by a gradual forming of two blocs, whose confrontation was bound to end in a collision, as it actually happened. In this clash the forces of one bloc were shattered and the conceptions on which it was based destroyed, but this clash was followed by other contradictions, which led to the formation of new blocs. And these blocs, just like their predecessors, are being justified by the need for a balance, for defence and security. The principle of balance, like Phoenix, constantly rises from its own ashes.

There is no difference in the final effect between the original conception of the policy of balance and its modern counterpart of mutually opposing blocs, as both end in wars sooner or later. But there are other differences, one of which is that the first aimed at a division of territories, while the second aims at an organization of opposing groups and establishment of hegemony in the sphere of its operation. The policy of balance was always, as it is today, the policy of the big powers. No matter what the conception in which it is applied, it is based on the priority of interests or on the priority of political conceptions of the great powers. This is at the same time its great weakness, in addition to others, — of course, from the objective standpoint of the international community. For, the order which is based on the strengthening of positions of conflicting interests cannot be an order for the ensurance of peace. It is not an accident, therefore, that primarily those countries which do not find themselves in the midst of these opposing interests and can have a more objective attitude to the general interests of the international community and a clearer view of the prospects of international development, are fighting for the

victory of the principle of coexistence. Nor is it incomprehensible why this policy meets with the support primarily of those nations who have hitherto been the victims of the policy of balance.

Today's formation of blocs which divide the world into two camps is characterized perhaps more than ever in history, except perhaps at the time of religious wars, by ideological intolerance which aggravates even more the relations between them. Ideological intolerance, besides other negative qualities which disturb normal intercourse between nations, has also the quality of negating an obvious truth which issues from reality itself, — that nations may have common interests on the plane of international cooperation although they have different institutions at home. The condition is that the Governments should not interfere in the internal affairs of others and that they should renounce the claim to impose their own order, which provokes the resistance of the other order. Social development has its own conditions, and ways to these conditions, and every nation will find its own way without a teacher from outside, and even more quickly and easily without a policeman from outside. This way cannot be identical in all cases, as conditions are not identical in every country. It cannot be imposed by an alien power, nor prevented — except at the price of peace.

One of the hypotheses which should be accepted in the policy of peace, is the existence of ideological differences as international reality. The policy of peace should be based on methods, which will not transform these ideological differences into ideological contradictions and make them into factors of conflict between nations. Ideological blocs are not such a method.

The problem of the system of international order has two aspects. The first poses the question how to organize the security of nations within the international order. The second how to ensure international development of the order which is to prevent, or at least make difficult, the creation of international contradictions which lead to wars.

History teaches us that security cannot be lastingly based on one's forces alone, nor on the organization of a separate group of forces which are linked by special interests or similar ideology. For such a machinery of security is transformed into a threat and danger for the security of the other state or other group of states. And then begins the game of achieving balance and forming blocs.

On the other hand, security is not only a category of international police which guards the order, but also a category of international relations, set on the principles of an active international cooperation — mutual assistance and services between nations for the economic, social and cultural advancement, in the efforts to overcome poverty and backwardness and in removal of the sources and causes of conflict, for the peaceful settlement of disputes.

The policy of peaceful and active coexistence is based on these beliefs.

Two attempts were made to include these principles of coexistence in the organization of the international order. One of these was the League of Nations, the second is the United Nations. Both were made after major wars, which constituted the failure of the policy of balance and blocs.

Despite many differences which divide them — the conceptions of the League of Nations and the United Nations are similar in their basic idea: that security should be organized by collective means of the whole international community and that the basic principle of international relations should be the most comprehensive cooperation between nations, which will remove the causes of their conflicts.

The League of Nations did not succeed in preventing the Second World War as this organization was joined by States burdened with traditional conceptions of international policy and all the contradictions which the first war had created or provoked. The machinery of the League of Nations could not operate when its principles failed to influence the method of foreign policy pursued by member-States. Hence the League of Nations saw the continuation of the process of contradictions between the main upholders of this organization, who tried to turn its mechanism into an instrument of their own policy. Some countries did not join it, while others left it, in order to ensure their freedom of action to the detriment of peace, and to their own loss.

Will the United Nations show the same results in respect of a third world war? If it follows the same road, there is hardly any reason to doubt this — although the conditions in the world today are different from those prevailing at the time of the League of Nations.

It should be stated that in this regard, there are many similarities between the League of Nations and the United Nations, but there are differences as well.

First of all, a difference does lie in the fact that the UN has behind it the experience of the League of Nations, — an advantage the League did not have. Besides, the consciousness of international solidarity, inter-dependence and links, which was still quite abstract and more of an idea, at the time of the League of Nations, has become evident as a concrete result of the economic and social development in the world, although it is not always valued by the practical policy of the ruling powers. The UN, under the pressure of these factors, has developed the activity of international cooperation in the economic, social and cultural fields on a much wider scale than the League of Nations. All these are good signs.

But there are bad ones, too. They are similar to the manifestations which were remarked in the League of Nations, although they manifest themselves differently, that gives the idea that they are of a different nature. There are a lot of them, but here we think of one — the appearance of blocs, defensive and ideological. As defensive — they bring a dislocation in the system of collective security, as ideological — they hinder the development of general international cooperation.

When we speak of blocs we do not think of all the forms of international association between individual States, but we do think of specific formations, which confront each other in an organized manner and which consider each other as an obstacle for their policy, and a potential enemy. We have seen that the policy of such blocs is not in keeping with the principles of coexistence. It cannot be in keeping with the United Nations either, as this organization is based on the principles of coexistence.

The aim of the United Nations was to detach international policy from the selfish framework of uncontrolled national diplomacy and bring it within the framework of a universal international organization. The system of blocs, however, conducted international policy, at least in some of its most fateful aspects, out of the United Nations and directed it again on to the old paths where the measuring

of strength is taking place, where compensations are discussed and balance looked for. It has been pointed out that blocs constitute a system of peaceful coexistence, as they mutually respect each other. This is only a new formula for an old policy of balance.

The policy of coexistence is not the policy of those countries which only do not wish to take part in blocs, nor does it express their attitude to actual blocs, but it is policy against the system of blocs in general, as a method of international policy. This is not a policy of the neutral attitude to existing contradictions, but an active policy for the removal of these contradictions which the blocs do aggravate. In relation to blocs, it can be neither indifferent nor neutral. Above all, because the policy of blocs also engages general international interest, and then because the existence of blocs prevents the policy of coexistence between nations. For the same reason, it will not create its own bloc and thus destroy the principle from which it issued.

The policy of coexistence is not the policy of the moment, nor does it in its implementation see a solution for the current conflicts, although the present situation makes it particularly real and pressing. This is the policy of the building of a lasting system of international order. It is not confined only to providing a way out of a situation, nor only to the vital framework of a generation. It should be a generally accepted law in international relations, in order to yield full results.

The principle of coexistence in its today's aspect has sprung as a reaction to the creation of ideological groups and ideological recriminations and discriminations, which is the most serious obstacle to the development of friendship and cooperation between nations, and which contains the potential danger of a violent squaring of accounts between the different social orders. But the idea of active coexistence has developed into a complete system, which in the final instance constitutes a return to the original integral conception of the United Nations regarding collective security and peaceful international cooperation. Hence the policy of active coexistence is the policy of support and strengthening of the United Nations. Its basic principles in the light of current world problems have been recently formulated in the joint Tito-Nehru declaration, which received world publicity and earned the political significance of a new charter on relations between nations.

Ammdemikael DESSALEGN

Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of His Majesty the Emperor of Ethiopia

ETHIOPIA YESTERDAY AND TODAY

I AM glad to have this opportunity to speak to our Yugoslav friends about a country and people who have endured almost the same sufferings, overcome the same difficulties as the brave Yugoslav people, although in different circumstances of time and place. The struggle for independence, waged through centuries, devotion to the principles of justice and the great task of collective security, constitute the chief characteristics of our history and make our two countries natural allies.

The recent official visit of His Majesty Emperor Haile Selassie marks not only the beginning of a new era in our cooperation, but also lays the foundation for our further relations which are already developing at a satisfactory rate.

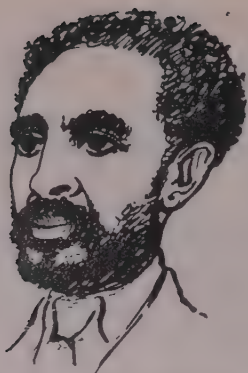
The cordial welcome accorded by the Yugoslav peoples to His Majesty the Emperor as well as the spontaneity with which they expressed their feelings, are indisputably the best proof of the complete understanding and mutual confidence binding our two countries.

I was surprised by the great interest shown by Yugoslavs for the history of Ethiopia. I was asked what was

the difference between the names Abyssinia and Ethiopia, and which was the more correct. It is true that some foreign writers insist on the use of the name Abyssinia when speaking of Ethiopia. I was also asked, why we did not like being called Abyssinians. This is for the simple reason that the term Abyssinia does not cover the whole of Ethiopia, in the same way as Serbia does not mean the whole of Yugoslavia.

Ethiopia covers a surface of 1,200,000 sq. kilometres. It is approximately four and a half times as large as Yugoslavia. Ethiopia has a population of 20 million inhabitants. The capital, Addis Ababa, numbers about 400,000. The other provincial capitals are: Harar, Gondar, Jima, Asmara, Massaua, Assab and others.

The history of Ethiopia is one of the oldest known. His Majesty the Emperor Haile Selassie is a descendant of one of the oldest reigning dynasties. Menelik I, son of the Queen of Sheba and Solomon, the King of Israel, ruled from 975 till 950 B. C. The Queen of Sheba was also known under the name of Queen Makeda. Sheba is the name of a small district not far from Aksum.



H. M. the Emperor Haile Selassie

The fame of Aksum dates from the period between the years 150 and 350. Its civilization flourished already 1000 years B. C. As regards the Ethiopian race, there is no doubt that it originates from a mixture of the Semites and the races of Begia and Ageua, who are the representatives of the original African race. Immigration which went on without intermission, was accelerated during the last thousand years before the New Era. The immigrants at that time came chiefly from Yemen. They were named „Agazians" after their language, the „guez".

Ethiopian customs as well as the traditions, bear the strong stamp of the Semitic civilization. In the year 330, two kings, brothers Abraha and Azbaha, who accepted the Christian faith, devoted themselves to the spreading of this religion both at Court and in the country. These two brothers, who reigned together, adhered to the Christian morality and gave many examples of devotion to their country.

A Greek merchant, Fromesusius, was the first archbishop of Aksum. From the year 500 to the beginning of the New Era, the Hamites and Semites who during that period united and melted together, created the Ethiopian nation — a well-organized state, whose capital was Aksum.

At the time when its literature, art and state organization were at their height, Ethiopia could favourably compare in culture with the other neighbouring and distant civilizations. At that time the most powerful states were Byzantium and Persia with which Aksum had commercial and cultural relations.

One of the most typical epochs in the history of Ethiopia extends from 615 till 1268. Engaged in religious strife against the Jews who lived in the country, Ethiopia lost many districts. Cultural development was retarded and finally completely checked. At that time Moslem refugees coming from Mecca, found a sanctuary in Ethiopia. Verse 86, Chapter V of the Koran expresses the Prophet's gratitude to the Emperor of Ethiopia. It should be remarked here that religious strife sapped the strength of descendants of Solomon's dynasty, which led to the birth of a new dynasty named the Zaga. This dynasty was founded by the Semitized Hamites and Christians (from 937 till 1268). Monolithic churches were being built in Lasta at that time. These churches were made in hollowed out rocks, without any additional structures and are among the most famous monuments in the world. They are known under the name „laibela" (1182 to 1220).

Sometime between 1200 and 1500, the central government of the Solomon dynasty was transferred to the south, to the present province of Sheva. In 1268 an Ethiopian archbishop, Teklehaimanot, succeeded, after an artful diplomatic action, to induce the last king of the Zaga dynasty to abdicate in favour of Ikun Amlak, a descendant of Dilnaada (from the line of Solomon). About the year 1490 the Portuguese King John II sent a certain Pedro de Kovihas to King Alexander of the Solomon dynasty, in Tagulet, a small town in the Sheva province. It seemed that Ethiopia would have a period of peace and that she would again begin to organize her Empire. Literature began to flourish again. Historical writings, poems etc. were being written. (Guinzet, Vudas Mariam, Gadla Semaitat, Kebreneguest; Emperor Zerajakab also occupied himself with writing and produced, in 1434, a book entitled „Light").

However, peace was disturbed again; this time the Moslems rose in arms to Islamize the people with all the means at their disposal. The moment was well chosen and well calculated. Fighting which had been going on for several centuries, had exhausted the country. Rebellions were breaking out over the breadth and length of the Empire. The areas by the sea, where the Moslems had settled, suffered the greatest losses.

Mohammed Ibrahim started from Zeila at the head of an army which had been recruited from among the rebels and new Moslems. He was helped by the Ottoman Empire.

About the year 1528 Emperor Libinedenguel and his son Galaudeos resumed negotiations with Portugal about getting military assistance. Finally the Portuguese sent 400 snipers whose moral and material effect was very great. Mohammed Ibrahim was defeated and with him failed all attempts to Islamize Ethiopia. The central government then moved to Gondar near the Tana lake.

The renaissance in Ethiopia began in about 1632. The government emerged as a victor from the war, but the country was weakened and impoverished. During the reconstruction of the country, which was rather difficult, a new crisis broke out. The missionaries — Jesuits, taking advantage of the military alliance between Ethiopia and Portugal, wished to take into their hands the control over the Orthodox Church in Ethiopia. Intrigues cropped up between the church dignitaries of the Ethiopian church and the Jesuit mission, and these led to religious wars and weakening of the country.

In the period between 1632 and 1868 the Ethiopian areas which extend along the Red Sea coast down to the Indian Ocean, could not resist the Turkish forces. Massaua, Assab, Zeila and Mogadiscio fell under the direct or indirect domination of the Ottoman Empire. But in spite of it the Ethiopians continued their struggle against the Turks. They were defending both their independence and the Christian civilization from the Moslem invasion which had extended to Europe as well. The coalition of Christian countries in Europe against the Ottoman Empire led to the fall of the latter. This was followed by the recognition of the right of Ethiopia to the provinces which extend along the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean and which the Turks had seized by force.

Solemn promises were made to Ethiopia. Unfortunately, they were never fulfilled. The fall of the Ottoman Empire was followed by the feverish race of the European powers for colonies. Italy occupied Assab, Massaua on the Red Sea and Mogadiscio on the Indian Ocean. An armed conflict broke out between Ethiopia and Italy. The victory at Adua marks one of the best-known colonial campaigns in history. Menelik II realized that circumstances did not permit him to turn the Adua victory to advantage. The Italians succeeded even after the defeat in maintaining their hold of the Ethiopian provinces on the Red Sea whence they set out on invading campaigns against Ethiopia on several occasions. Military strength in itself, was no longer sufficient to defeat a policy of colonization which had at its disposal another, unseen power: diplomacy.

No one else was better endowed to understand the power of that weapon than the present Ethiopian Emperor who is the real father of modern Ethiopia. Since his ascent to power, he set himself a clear programme defined by him in two words: light and peace. Light is nothing else but the people's enlightenment which has always been his primary care. Peace, — that is peaceful cooperation on the international plane. Peace — that is devotion to the principles of the UN Charter. As shown by several thousand years of Ethiopian history, that country, by fighting against the colonial powers also has fought against a compulsory isolation which is not in keeping with her past nor with her future. It is enough to remember at what price, with what efforts, Ethiopia has regained her place on the international scene — to be able to assess properly the greatness of her sacrifices.

Ethiopia cherishes great sympathies for all nations who were victims of aggression, and made to endure, like she was, the horrors of occupation. This has contributed to the creation of a spirit of sincere understanding between Ethiopia and Yugoslavia and conditioned a rapid development of relations between these two countries. Yugoslavia and Ethiopia desire peace for themselves and for their future generations.

Conference in Bandung

The President of the Republic Josip Broz Tito gave the following reply to a question put to him by a Belgrade Radio representative in connexion with the Asian-African Conference in Bandung:

I MUST admit that the results of the first Asian African Conference were a pleasant surprise for me. For, although I had expected that Conference to be of great significance, still I did not think it would take in consideration so many problems nor that agreement would be reached on the majority of them.

The number of Asian and African countries which took part in the Conference and the huge interest which reigned for the Conference in Asian and African countries shows that a historical turning-point had occurred — in the sense that the peoples of the two continents had resolved to decide themselves about their own fate in the greatest possible measure. Of course, these results can only inspire all friends of peace and international cooperation with new hopes and confidence that the front of peace today constitutes a strong factor in the struggle against a new war, and for international cooperation.

We Yugoslavs are especially pleased by these results as the conception dominating the Conference was fully in accord with our conceptions both as regards international cooperation and strengthening of peace — and in respect of viewing the right of Asian and African countries to settle their own problems."

"We are brothers not only because we are Asians and Africans, but also because we are linked by an immeasurable wish for peace, resolute resistance to all dictate, firm determination to raise ourselves from backwardness. I am deeply convinced that we have made a great achievement here, not only for the benefit of Asia and Africa, but for the whole of mankind as well." (Nehru)

THE world has a reason to be joyful: the representatives of 29 countries from the two most backward continents have introduced a new tone in world politics. For the first time after the war, gathered at one of the largest political meetings in history, they considered the problems of our time in a spirit of tolerance, understanding, humanism and with the single intention of devoting the national energies and efforts to the building of general peace and international understanding. At the Conference in Bandung, the world lost its bloc physiognomy: not a word was heard about the creation of a military force, strategic mathematics, not a word about the jet planes or credits for the propaganda war of nerves. We shall look in vain in the texts of resolutions, adopted by the Conference, for at least an allusion to the justifiableness of the division of the Globe into "free nations" and the "satellite world" into the West and East, communists and anti-communists, into the Islam and Christianity, the whites and the coloured. Most significant of all — these problems were jointly considered and resolutions jointly drawn up by statesmen who by their orientation belong to socialists and monarchists, to communists and anti-communists, to atheists and Buddhists, to Christianity and Islamism.

The only conclusion to be drawn from this is that the idea of the active coexistence of nations, regardless of racial differences and systems, has taken deep root in Bandung. This is a manifestation of the greatest significance from the viewpoint of international policy. It opens wide and bright prospects for the further development in the world. The Bandung Conference has taught a lesson and given an example to the other continents: it has proved that conditions and needs of the world have changed to such an extent that the views and rights of Asia and Africa can no longer be by-passed in the treatment of either their own or world problems. These two continents have spoken the language of their awakened dignity and consciousness. They demand, and quite rightly, that their peoples should be independent and respected, that they should live and create in peace and that they cooperate

with the rest of the world on an equal footing for the ensuring of a peaceful development and liquidation of injustice and backwardness. Their demand is as much human as it is minimal: that the countries of other continents, primarily the great powers, should show a greater measure of unselfish understanding for their aspirations and needs, that they should at least give them moral support in their efforts to realize with their own forces, the noble aims of economic and cultural emancipation, independence and equality in the international community.

Contrary to the expectations of those who do not like the political platform of the Bandung meeting, the Asian and African peoples did not part on those questions which they view differently. They also disappointed those who, even before the Conference began, attributed isolationist conceptions and intentions to its participants. Actually the contrary happened: the heterogeneous composition of the Conference produced homogeneousness in the basic views and results. The statesmen of 29 countries proved themselves sufficiently mature to subordinate mutual differences and divergences on some concrete questions — to the general, essential interests and aspirations of their area. With this they gave the sorely needed example how possible it is, despite numerous and considerable contradictions, to bridge successfully various differences by joint effort and application of a realistic criterion, and establish a constructive cooperation on the lines of that realistic, measured and constructive policy which is increasingly attracting the countries of the Asian and African continents. The attempt made by some delegations from the pro-American group of countries (Thailand, Turkey, Iraq, Pakistan, the Philippines) to divert the Conference in the direction of ideological discussions and prove the "justifiableness" of military pacts, which in one or another way serve the special interests of the great powers failed to unhinge the framework and purpose of the meeting as most of the delegations were dominated by the idea of their common interests and the need for associating on those lines which link them together.

As the most positive result of the Conference, the world will appraise the expressed readiness of the Asian-African countries to cooperate fruitfully and actively with other nations and continents for the settlement of the burning problems common to all the nations of the world. This means that we may count on Asia and Africa as the most serious partners in all actions for the advancement of the cause of peace, progress and international cooperation. We shall not go wrong if we say that in Bandung

the nations of Asia and Africa expressed the conceptions which are today becoming the moral guide of mankind. They have showed Europe and America, with bravery, measure and tact, which deserve admiration, that the problems of our time can no longer be settled in the framework of the bloc policy and from its positions, but only in a new practice of peaceful and creative coexistence. „We will not join any bloc — says Nehru — because this would mean losing our individuality. Neither of the two blocs is right; their policy is leading us to the verge of war. It would be an unbearable humiliation for any Asian or African country to abase itself so much as to become the follower of one or another bloc of powers”. This is the authentic voice of independent Asia, which turns towards new vistas, new roads. The choice is decisive for mankind: either coexistence, which will reduce the area of tension, or general conflict and chaos. There is no third possibility, as the hazardous race in thermo-nuclear armaments and accumulation of hatred in world policy have brought the world close to the real danger of self-destruction. Asia and Africa are fully aware of the general danger: „Today — declared Sukarno, the President of Indonesia in opening the Conference — when the non-conventional arms have become conventional, there is no hope for any country to manage to protect itself. Neither the sea, nor the oceans, and not even the air would remain peaceful, and if any of us were to remain alive, he would bear the stamp of the great damnation of degenerate descendants because of his inability to control the forces which we have released“.

Taking these views as a point of departure, the peoples of Asia and Africa formulated, in the resolution „on peace in the world and cooperation”, the common platform for their international activity. The principles of this resolution mean a broad affirmation of an independent and active policy for the linking of all nations, for comprehensive cooperation in peace, freedom and equality. Condemning the bloc division and tendencies of expansionism, it mobilizes all the spiritual, moral and political forces of Asia and Africa on the side of peace. This is the most valuable result of the Conference which will have a positive influence on the present situation in the world.

The remaining resolutions also show that the Asian-African nations irresistibly tend towards economic and cultural transformation, independence and progress. The resolution on condemning colonialism in all its aspects is also significant. Colonialism still constitutes an ever-present problem in Asia and Africa, one which exacts great sacrifices from their populations. The Conference not only branded colonialism and all forms of discrimination as a negation of the basic values of civilization and human dignity, but also in calm and measured terms called upon the colonial powers to return freedom and independence to the peoples who are still without them. Of no less significance are the demands of the Conference for the establishment of the universality of UNO and investment of joint efforts for achieving disarmament and using thermo-nuclear energy for purposes of progress.

No comment on the results of the Conference would be complete unless tribute were paid to Premiers Nehru, Chou En-lai, U Nu, Sastroamidjojo, Nasser and others who with their tact and resolute advocacy of the principles of peaceful coexistence greatly contributed both to the successful outcome of the meeting and prevention of influences, the origin of which must be sought outside the Asian-African area. Special interest was shown also in following the numerous contacts and talks outside the official part of the Conference, which will indubitably have an effect on the further positive development of relations in that part of the world.

It would naturally be a welcome occurrence if the results of this Conference were understood and received in the countries of the other Continents, and Europe especially, as a good opportunity for the establishment of a wider international cooperation in the cause of peace, and not to be viewed, as in some non-Asian countries, with reservation and mistrust. For, if the demands of Asia and Africa were not paid, the attention which they deserve by the rest of the world, and if the efforts to neutralize the policy which was manifested in Bandung were to be continued, then the consequences of such an attitude would equally affect the vital interests of all the peoples in the world.

Resolutions of Asian-African Countries on Peace and Cooperation

THE Conference of Asian and African countries adopted the resolution on „Peace in the world and cooperation” which embraces the following ten points:

- 1) Respecting of human rights and UN Charter.
- 2) Respecting of sovereignty and territorial integrity of all countries.
- 3) Recognition of racial and national equality.
- 4) Non-interference in the affairs of other countries.
- 5) The right of every country to defend itself alone or collectively in accordance with the UN Charter.
- 6) Abstention from joining collective defensive arrangements for the benefit of a big world power. Abstention from bringing pressure to bear on other countries.
- 7) Abstention from acting or threatening of aggression, or from using forces against any country.
- 8) Settlement of all international disputes by peaceful means.
- 9) Advancement of mutual interests and cooperation.
- 10) Respecting of justice and international obligations.

ECONOMIC COOPERATION

First, Asian-African Conference recognizes the urgent need for accelerating economic development of the Asian-African region. The participating countries expressed a general wish for economic cooperation based on respect for mutual interests and national sovereignty. Proposals for economic cooperation in the framework of the participating countries do not however exclude, the desirability and need for cooperation with countries outside this region, also taking into consideration such cooperation as is provided by way of foreign capital investment.

Furthermore, it recognizes that the assistance received by some participating countries, from sources outside this region on the basis of international or bilateral agreements, gave a precious contribution to the fulfilment of the development programmes of these countries.

Second, the participating countries mutually agreed to extend technical assistance in the greatest possible measure, in the form of the programme for exchange and training of experts, for exchange of equipment for demonstration purposes, exchange of technical knowledge, as well

as establishment of national, and — where possible — also regional institutes for training and research for the purpose of imparting technical knowledge and experiences in cooperation with the existing international agencies.

Third, Asian-African Conference recommends:

A special UN fund for economic development, to be soon established,

that the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development should remit a larger part of its means to the Asian-African countries,

the establishment of an international financial corporation whose activity should include taking over of insufficiently profitable investments and

that some creation of common projects among Asian-African countries should be stimulated, in so far as this is beneficial to their common interests.

Fourth, the Asian-African Conference recognizes that stabilization of commercial exchanges in this region is a vital need. The principle was, therefore, adopted for an expansion of the volume of multilateral trade and payments. However, it is said that some countries will have to resort to bilateral commercial agreements, in view of the economic conditions prevailing with them.

Fifth, the Asian-African Conference recommends to participating countries to take a joint action for the stabilizing of international prices and demand for basic articles by way of bilateral and multilateral agreements and, so far as this is practicable and desirable, to elaborate a common view of these questions during the discussion in the Permanent Consultative Commission of the United Nations for international trade exchanges and in other international forums.

Sixth, the Asian-African Conference recommends further:

that Asian-African countries should develop their export trade by taking steps for the processing of their raw materials, whenever this is possible before exporting,

that intraregional commercial fairs should be established and stimulation given for exchange of trade delegations and economic representatives,

that encouragement be given for exchange of information and samples with a view to establishing intraregional trade and

that steps should be taken for ensuring normal facilities for the transit of goods to those countries which have no outlet to the sea.

Seventh, the Asian-African Conference attaches great significance to navigation and expresses anxiety at the fact that shipping agencies revise tariff rates from time to time, frequently to the detriment of the participating countries. The Conference recommends this problem, to be studied and then should be undertaken joint action, in order to bring pressure to bear on shipping agencies so that they could take a more reasonable attitude.

Eighth, the Asian-African Conference agreed that the setting up of national and regional banks and insurance companies should be encouraged.

Ninth, the Asian-African Conference considers that exchange of information on oil questions, such as the payment of wages and taxation, could finally lead to the establishment of a common policy.

Tenth, the Asian-African Conference stresses that the exploitation of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes is particularly significant for the Asian-African countries.

The Conference:

greet the initiative of the primarily interested powers for providing information on the exploitation of atomic energy for peace-time purposes,

asks for a quick foundation of an international agency for atomic energy in which Asian-African countries should be adequately represented on the board of the agency and

recommends that the Governments of Asian and African countries should make full use of the training and other facilities for the exploitation of atomic energy for peaceful purposes, offered by the countries which submit such programmes.

Eleventh, the Asian-African Conference has agreed as regards the appointment of liaison functionaries in the participating countries, who shall be appointed by their

respective national Governments, for exchange of information on questions of mutual interest.

The Conference recommends fuller use of the international organizations and ensurance of admission to membership for those participating countries, who are not members of such international organizations, but are entitled to be elected.

Twelfth, the Asian-African Conference recommends that participating countries, whenever possible, should previously consult with each other on questions under consideration in the international forums, for the advancement of their common economic interests. Such consultations, however, are not aimed at the creation of a regional bloc".

FOR THE UNIVERSALITY OF UNO

The statement says further: „The Asian-African Conference expresses regret at the policy and practice of racial segregation and discrimination on which administration and human relations are based in the spacious areas of Africa and other parts of the world.

Owing to the existing tension in the Near East, created by the situation in Palestine and danger which this tension means for world peace, the Asian-African Conference expresses its support to the rights of the Arab population in Palestine and asks for the implementation of UNO resolutions on Palestine as well as the peaceful settlement of the Palestine question."

„The Asian-African Conference supports the demand for self-determination and independence rights of the peoples of Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia and urges the French Government to realize without delay, the legitimate solution of this question".

The Conference considers that in order to ensure efficacious cooperation for the realization of world peace, United Nations membership should be universal, and it calls upon the Security Council to support the admission of all countries which are qualified for membership according to the conditions of the Charter. In the opinion of the Conference, the following countries fulfil all conditions for becoming members of UNO: Cambodia, Ceylon, Japan, Jordan, Laos, Libia, Nepal and unified Viet-Nam."

„The Conference considers that disarmament, banning of the production, testing and use of nuclear and thermo-nuclear energy are indispensable for freeing mankind and civilization from fear and possibility of total annihilation."

Until complete banning of the production of nuclear and thermo-nuclear energy has been achieved, this Conference appeals to all countries to reach an agreement on the stopping of experiments with such weapons. The Conference declares that universal disarmament is indispensable for the preservation of peace and asks the United Nations to continue its efforts for disarmament, as well as all interested countries to take early steps for reaching an agreement on the regulation, restriction, control and reduction of all armed forces and armaments, including prohibition of production — experimenting and use of all weapons for mass destruction, as well as to establish effective international control for the implementation of this agreement".

RESOLUTION ON COLONIALISM

The Conference declares:

1. That colonialism in all its forms is an evil which should be abolished as soon as possible.

2. That subjection of peoples to foreign oppression, domination and exploitation constitutes a negation of the basic human rights, that it is in contradiction with the UN Charter and an obstacle for advancement of world peace and cooperation.

3. The Conference gives its support to the cause of freedom and independence of all nations and

4. Calls upon all countries to whom this applies to give freedom and independence to those nations.

All nations should have the right freely to choose their economic and political systems and their way of life in keeping with the aims and principles of the United Nations Charter.

Fernando VALERA

Minister in the Spanish Republican Government

AN INSULT TO SPAIN

AN injustice, which probably has not even been noticed, has been recently done by UNO. The serious events in the Far East, which involve hundreds of millions of people, explain, to some extent, the shadow which has been cast over other events. What we have in mind is a case of „mass“ criterion, a characteristic of the barbaric mentality which is, unfortunately, so prevalent in our age, as if good and wrong were the problems of mass, volume and speed. Yet, the causal relationships in the ethical world — which Indian philosophers call *karma* — often turn wrongs done to insignificant beings into serious consequences for humanity as a whole. „The tears of the humiliated undermine the thrones of the powerful“, says an ancient Eastern proverb.

Spain is really small when compared with China and her 600 million inhabitants. And the Republic of Spain, reduced to several thousand insubordinate interneers and exiles, is not only small, but also insignificant to those who reckon moral values in terms of millions of dollars. What significance, consequently, is to be attached to a new wrong done to tortured Spain? It is the only way one could explain the decision of UNO to receive in its centre a permanent observer of the Madrid Government, which, as competent UN forums themselves have said, was imposed on Spain by military assistance of Hitler and Mussolini. „Other countries, which have a similar status, and which have observers in UNO, are Japan, Western Germany, Italy, Finland, Austria and Korea“, says the report in which this decision was announced.

This ingenious explanation shows that in this case people in UNO have lost their memory, their ability to reason and their will — all the human faculties. They have lost their ability to remember the origin of UNO, to grasp its laws, as well as their will to implement them. But, let us take their memory first. They seem to have forgotten that UNO was created in the time of the Second World War, first to defend its members from the Nazi-fascist aggression, and, secondly, to prevent any new aggression of the same kind. And if one day the principle of universality, which is defended by some countries, becomes accepted, and if all governments, merely because they have the status of government, are admitted in UNO, tolerance would be stretched beyond its logical and moral meaning if a fascist state becomes its member. For that would be the recognition of aggression, the betrayal of the struggle and victory, and the disregard of the graves of the millions of soldiers who had believed that they fought for freedom in the world.

Consistent in its struggle, UNO, at its first session in San Francisco, accepted an official explanation of its rules concerning the admission of new members. That explanation says that the provisions in question cannot be applied to any state whose regime has been established by military assistance of the powers which fought against the Allied Nations as long as such a regime is in power. Even blind men see and fools know that only the Madrid Government answers the description given in the declaration which interprets the Charter and which was approved by the Assembly at San Francisco.

To dispel any doubt if such one exists, the General Assembly, referring to the declarations issued at Potsdam and London, repeated on December 12, 1946, that „the United Nations has condemned the Franco regime and decided that Spain, as long as that regime exists, cannot become its member“. What is more, a Commission of the Security Council, which especially considered the case of Spain, unanimously decided that the „Franco Government is a

fascist regime by its origin, structure and behaviour“, and that „it was imposed on the Spanish people by force of the Axis Powers as part of their preparations for war against the states, which during the Second World War formed the United Nations Organization“. Now, only people who have lost their memory, who have unclear minds and distorted will can disregard these declarations, for they represented, not mere opinions, but facts proved by incontestable evidence, which was later multiplied when various documents, books, memoirs and secret files were made public. To place Spain on an equal footing with the present day Germany, Italy, or Japan would be equal to sophism, a fraud and a weakness of will. True, the latter fought against the Allied Nations, but the governments which were responsible for their entry into war were overthrown, condemned and replaced by elements which fought against them. It is not vanity but justice to say that no resistance movement was equal in heroism, sacrifices and tribulations to that of the Spanish Republic.

UNO thought the same before it became impartial as at present. Accordingly, when in 1946 it condemned the Spanish fascists it promised to the Spanish people its constant sympathy and a warm welcome when circumstances allow Spain to become its member. It had done even more. It ordered diplomatic and moral isolation of the Madrid Government, and promised to apply effective measures to improve matters if in reasonable time no government was established in Spain which would represent the national will, guarantee equal right to all and conduct free elections.

What did UNO want to achieve with such declarations? It is possible to suspect today: to gain in time until the democratic world has become accustomed to the fascist government in Madrid, to suppress and exhaust internal resistance against it, to discourage emigration, consolidate tyranny, and to keep Spain in an inferior position and force it to beg for respect — in short, to insult and degrade her.

True it is. If UNO had not issued the said declaration in 1946, the Spanish people would have started to fight for freedom. At that time, the mountains were still full of guerilla fighters, the resistance was organized, the emigration awake and the world public in favour of the Republic. An insurrection at that time would not have been a repetition of the 1936–39 events, when the Spanish Republic, Czechoslovakia and Austria were sacrificed to fascism. The UNO declarations came in time to save the tyranny from attack. When UNO promised to rectify matters in reasonable time, it seemed unnecessary to start a new insurrection and shed blood. Spain had suffered very much as it was. She certainly deserved solidarity, respect and even admiration of the free world.

Is it really possible that UNO does not see the wrong it is doing to Spain? Although it seem improbable, there will be well meaning people, particularly in Latin America, who will be capable of believing and respecting the mother country if the doors of international forums are thrown open to the fascist regime of Madrid. And that is what increases the gravity of the insult, for it practically means that freedom is denied to Spain, a country which, together with Rome and Islam, has been the pillar of one of the three great civilizations in history.

Negro tribes, which until not long ago had been living a primitive life in all corners of Africa, today enjoy the right — and we are glad they do — to elect their governments, freely, and to pass laws in their sovereign parliaments. The same right is enjoyed by the nations of Asia

and the Pacific, which have just freed themselves from colonialism, and by Germany which has caused two world wars. Only the Spanish people, who really opposed totalitarian aggression, who with their unexpected and hopeless thirty two month long struggle forced Hitler to change his plans, and so gave time to the West to arm — only the Spanish people, who have been colonizing new worlds, who had a parliament before England, freedom before France, universities before Germany, cannot enjoy

freedom and the right to pass their laws and to elect their own government freely.

This injustice will bring about a tragedy one day. Humanity, which coolly watched the slavery and agony of a deserving people from 1936 to 1939, will find itself in an unenviable situation when historical justice comes to be applied to the guilty. But then, that humanity, which is today unmoved, will not deserve anything but contempt from Spain which is now being insulted.

Milan BARTOŠ

State Counsellor in the Secretariate for Foreign Affairs, FPRY

CONTEMPORARY FORMS OF SLAVERY

THE United Nations Organization at its tenth session will have to take up the question of passing a Convention on Slavery.

It seems strange that today, 160 years after the proclaimed abolition of slavery, after the secessionist war in the United States, after a number of multilateral conventions on the prohibition of slave trade, after the League of Nations Slavery Conventions, after the recent protocol on the revision of all such conventions, the problem of slavery is again on the agenda.

The problem of slavery now presents itself in new forms, in new contents. The classical form of slavery has disappeared, or we can say that it has disappeared. In the United Nations member-states and in their possessions man can no longer be disposed of as if he were a mere commodity. The conceptions of the slave owning societies that the list of domestic animals is headed by a slave-man has also disappeared. However, the capitalist society and its methods of production have created new forms of servitude, which, in their essence, do not differ from the general effect of the old system of slavery. Two entirely different institutions have combined to make these new forms of servitude: the institution of slavery and the institution of free negotiations. Man is free, and, consequently, he is not a slave. But a free man has the right to conclude any contract which in a given country is not contrary to public order. And in many countries public order makes it possible for him to conclude irrevocable life-long labour contracts, which might bind him to another person, to a definite place of exploitation, and even force him to accept any job offered by the employer. In what respect, one may ask, does this differ from slavery?

In the period of slavery man was governed without regard to his will. And now man is turned into a slave through his own free will, through his right to conclude contracts, and through the rule that every one must fulfil contracted obligations. If a man undertakes to live for all times at a fixed place and work for a definite employer at in-advance determined conditions, so that he is bound to remain at that place and respect the undertaken obligations for the duration of his life, and if furthermore, the state, in whose territory all that takes place, threatens to use penal laws against him if he violates his contract, then his position does not in any way differ from that of a slave. Apparently, he is not a slave, because the law courts respect his will, but, in fact, his position is just like that of a slave, because the courts recognize the bond based on his will, on the so-called free consent to a correctly concluded contract.

In colonies and in some countries which depend on immigration for labour supplies, any person wishing to obtain

employment or to immigrate must conclude such a contract. And so his personal freedom is restricted at the moment when the contract is concluded. He becomes a slave by his own will, a slave who will be prosecuted by the state if he violates his contract.

This new form of slavery is the basis upon which large plantations are worked, either by natives or immigrants. True, there the slave is paid, and he maintains himself. But, what he receives is determined by his contract, which might have been concluded under different conditions, but even so he must work as stipulated by the terms of that contract. He is, further, deprived of all rights to decide his own fate, to change his occupation or place of residence.

Such contractual relations are often permitted in colonies, because they correspond to local customs, customs which are maintained by conservative forces and their conceptions of slavery. They are, however, prohibited in the metropolis, for there the personal freedom of man is above all contractual obligations. In the home countries the civil codes do not recognize such contracts. There, no labour contract can be concluded for long periods, and the worker can usually terminate his contract with the employer at a relatively short notice. But freedom for a man in metropolis is not the same as for those in colonies.

An inquiry conducted by United Nations experts shows that the forms of voluntary slavery differ from country to country. It has been proved that in many countries life-long labour contracts are accepted as a rule, and that termination of such contracts is considered as a crime punishable by law. The inquiry further revealed that there are milder forms of voluntary slavery, but with just as difficult economic consequences, which deprive the worker of all his personal liberties. Thus, for instance, there are countries in which the termination of labour contracts is not punishable by law, but in which the worker, who does not fulfil his obligations, or who wishes to terminate his contract, runs a risk of losing the fruit of long years of his labour (compulsory savings of half all his earnings, property he might have received while settling in a given area, together with his own investments), so that in such cases the emancipation of man is similar to that which took place in some countries during the abolition of feudalism, when, as Marx says, the peasant was relieved of his feudal obligations, and, at the same time, also „relieved” of the land he had been working as a serf.

Other forms of slavery emanate from the patriarchal family customs. The right of parents to sell their children for the purpose of marriage, either with the buyer or with some other person, is nothing but the right to enslave them for life, for in such societies a woman depends exclusively on the will of her husband, without whose consent she

cannot obtain a divorce at all. This form of enslaving minors is in some countries affected through rights of parents to conclude on behalf of their children long term labour contracts, and place them at the disposal of their employers for the duration of the contract, or, at least, until they become of age. Finally, the right of the husband to negotiate contracts on behalf of his wife, and her duty to fulfil such a contract, is the enslaving of a person on the basis of a contract in whose conclusion that person does not participate, but whose difficult consequences he must endure. All these things seem strange, remote and almost paradoxical to us. But they, nonetheless, exist in the world, and it is difficult to fight against them, because they are in most cases based on religious beliefs, on the divine rights of parents and husbands, on the absolute subjection to family rules, and on the maintenance of conservative circles that the interests of children can be best protected by their parents, and the interests of a woman by her husband. This absolute obedience is the negation of the freedom of the human person. It is taken advantage of not only to subject persons to the will of those whose family authority is recognized by law, but also of those to whom that authority is transferred.

The forms of slavery can be of yet another character. By studying religious laws, the rules of various religious orders, the legal recognition of life-long vows, the possible state measures to force a monk to return to his order, and the Austrian Military Frontier Authority. A frontiersman posed on disobedient brethren, we get a clear picture of the institution of slavery. A monk is held to have renounced his personality and accepted to obey the superiors of his order. And seeing that his vows bind him for life, he is not an independent being.

There are countries in which some forms of slavery emanate from military service or from the relations of some families to military organizations. In our own regions the source of such forms of slavery was, not so long ago, the Austrian Military Frontier Authority. A frontiersman could not have left the region administered by the Military Frontier Authority, and he was obliged to spend his whole life in military service, or to enter such service when called upon to do so. This must not be confused with the duty of citizens to serve in the army, or with the patriotic obligation to defend one's country. The Military Frontier Authority was an institution which could have been entered, but from which it was impossible to withdraw. Only ninety years ago a man in Europe could have been imprisoned for not paying his debts. Today, such imprisonment is considered to be a form of slavery. For, if a debtor who is unable to meet his obligations is liable to be imprisoned, then he ceases to be a free man. And this form of slavery still persists in some countries.

At first glance nothing can be found wrong with the so-called mariners' examination. That is the institution through which the privilege to engage in maritime occupations is granted to those who enter their names in the register of seamen, i. e. sailors and fishermen. But, if that privilege, as is the case in some countries, is turned into an obligation of the mariners not to engage in any other activity and to accept jobs offered in that field, it becomes a new form of feudal relationship, which binds men to the territorial or high seas and which is very similar to slavery.

There are various forms of slavery. There are slaves who apparently enjoy high social standards; there are others who make their poor living with great difficulties; and there are still others whose freedom is so restricted that they can hardly scrap a bare existence. But, they all have one thing in common. They cannot freely determine their occupations or terminate their services. They are left to the mercy of the employers, and the once concluded contracts or chosen institutions hang above their heads like the sword of Damocles. The impossibility to terminate their contracts turns them into real slaves.

All this shows that slavery has acquired new forms, and that, consequently, the struggle against slavery must assume new and specific characteristics. Today, when the United Nations is working for the suppression of slavery, it is trying to uproot, not only the remnants of classical slavery, but also all new institutions which restrict man's actions and deprive him of the right to conduct his affairs freely and to choose his occupation in accordance with his

inclinations. Slavery is a social evil which must be suppressed. The United Nations has taken upon itself the struggle.

Science and practical observation reveal ever new forms of subjecting one man to another. Still newer forms of slavery will, no doubt, appear in the future too, and they will also have to be opposed by social workers.

In the international field there is a great controversy on whether the international community should interfere in the domestic affairs of individual countries, and forbid, by its regulations, this or that category of contractual and legal relations which might be compared with slavery. The states which create and tolerate new forms of slavery complain that the international community openly interferes in their internal affairs, and declare that the consideration of civil and labour relations in individual countries falls within the competency, not of the international community, but of the states concerned. In doing that they wish to raise the question of relations between the international community and individual states, referring to Article 2 Paragraph 7 of the United Nations Charter, which declares international interference in the domestic affairs of individual countries illegal. They maintain that slavery has been abolished by an international convention, and that family relations and the freedom of concluding contracts in any given country depend on its customs, traditions and economic needs. If the international community begins to interfere in such matters, they assert, it will only break up the existing organization in a given country and impose on it other forms which might not be easily introduced or correctly applied.

Progressive circles, however, consider that nothing in the world can last for ever, and that the time has come to abolish the practices which are below the dignity of man. The standard of human dignity and freedom, as accepted by one age, is not and cannot be the standard for the future generations as well.

When the French Revolution proclaimed freedom for all men and when after 1848 slavery was declared illegal, man's conceptions of freedom were not what they are today. Now, the formal aspects of slavery are not considered only through the law and through the ownership relations of master and slave. Humanity is progressing, stage by stage. As individual institutions are being suppressed, those who still want to make use of them react sharply. Rights are being abused, and laws violated. Those who have been prevented from governing humanity on the basis of ownership have now introduced the contractual basis. But, if the international community is to allow its decisions, which have become the rules of international law, to be evaded and the prohibited institutions renewed by changing their basis, it will not be able to fulfil its task. It is wrong to say that, protecting the dignity of man, the international community interferes in the domestic affairs of individual states merely by asking them to put an end to new forms of slavery. The international community has the perfect right to fight against slavery — not only against one, but against all forms of slavery.

Yugoslavia might say that she is not interested in the problem of slavery. Although she must still fight against slavery, i. e. against certain remnants of the ancient customs, such as the purchase of women and primitive patriarchal exploitation of children, she is aware that cases of this kind are encountered only in some more backward provinces, and that, owing to the country's economic development they are rapidly disappearing. But, even so, the Yugoslav public and jurists take a great deal of interest in the problem of slavery. The Yugoslav jurists consider it their duty to take part in the general struggle against all forms of slavery, regardless how and where they appear. It is obvious that slavery must be opposed, and our struggle against it is developing together with the struggle for the means which will uproot the causes of all kinds of slavery. Our struggle for assistance to underdeveloped countries is the struggle for the abolition of the remnants of primitive slavery; our struggle for the workers' rights is the struggle to end the remnants of slavery in their capitalist forms. It is our duty to make our ideas and conceptions known in the international field, and to take part in every action for the progress of humanity, including the struggle against all contemporary forms of slavery.

A GREAT SCIENTIST

IN paying our tribute to the memory of the great scientist it is worth stressing once again the immense revolutionary significance of his work in physics, which can only be compared to the mythical exploits of Hercules.

Needless to say we are not in a position to embark on a disquisition of the theory of relativity in this article. We can only say that it primarily shows and proves the complete relativity of every mechanical movement, both continuous, rectilinear and accelerated. According to the theory of relativity there is no observable difference between mechanised motion and immobility, while accelerated and circular motion is interpreted as immobility in a field of gravitation whose effect in duration, force and direction would correspond to the effect of the so-called forces of inertia. It is these forces which enable us to distinguish this form of motion from regular rectilinear motion namely immobility.

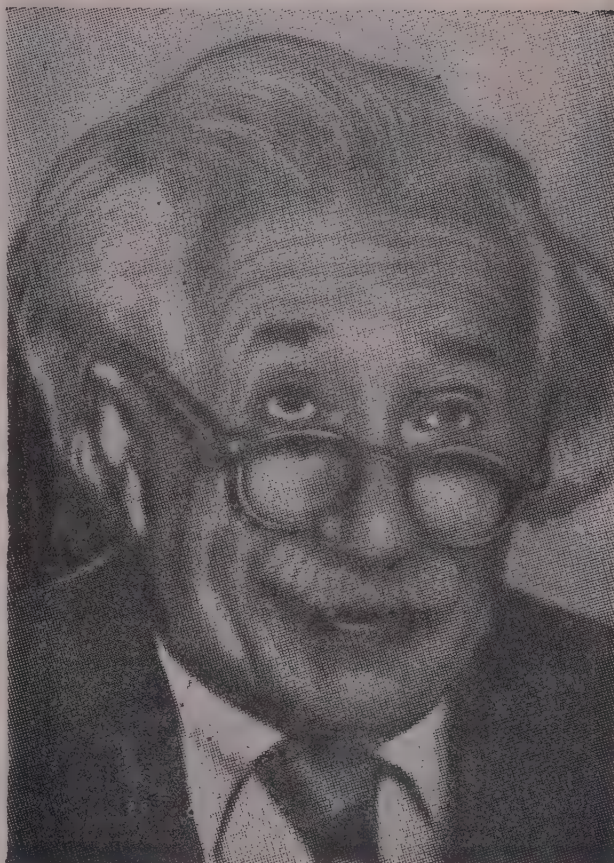
On this occasion, however, we cannot dwell on the theoretical significance of his discovery, but only on its practical results which obliged Einstein to mark the fiftieth anniversary of his great discovery by placing his name at the head of the long list of scientists who initiated the struggle against the continuation of the atom bomb experiments.

In point of fact, the theory of relativity is the cradle of the atom bomb. This favourite of the present „twins of Bellona” ensued as a practical result of this theory namely the application in practice of its most important postulate that the mass of every body of which 9/10 are concentrated in its atom nuclei can be converted into energy. Or to be more precise, that energy equals mass multiplied by the square of the velocity of light. The energy liberated by nuclear fission in the atom bomb is exactly this energy (and only a small part of it: the hydrogen bomb converts only a few per-mille of nuclear mass into energy).

This „energy equivalent of mass” as expressed in the famous formula $E=Mc^2$ has the same significance for the atom bomb and (we still hope) the future nuclear power generators as the steam engine has for the mechanical equivalent of heat (one calorie equals 427 kilogram meters). The formula of this „equivalent” inevitably ensues from Einstein's new law on the calculation of complex velocities, namely from the coefficient of the contraction of space by a body in motion, i.e. the constant velocity of light.

Not only did the theory of relativity establish the above mentioned equivalent but: parallel with Planck's quantum theory it also directly enabled the physicists to penetrate into the structure and the secrets of the atom. It was a long way from the discovery of radioactivity to the use of the atom nucleus as a source of energy. If the theory of relativity had not provided signposts and milestones on this road, particularly at its „crossroads”, the isotopes (chemical elements with identical properties but different atomic weights) physicists would still be wandering far from their goal.

Only if this is borne in mind, can the full gravity of Einstein's warning of the dangers of atom bomb experiments, and particularly its wartime use be perceived. Einstein's name is a sure proof, and unquestionable guarantee that these dangers are completely genuine. One should not be deceived by the illusion that this warning was only given by a great humanist, and that the scientists engaged in the production of atom bombs who conduct the experiments are at least as well versed in atomic physics as Einstein and that — were the danger truly so great and imminent — they would already have devised an effective means of warning the statesmen of it and dissuading them from playing with fire.



It should again be stressed that Einstein's achievements were not limited only to the theory of relativity. Thus for instance his discovery of the law of photoelectric effect, which explains the phenomena of light absorption and the exchange of electrons promises to provide a physical explanation not only of photography and the formation of pictures in the eye, but also of photosynthesis, i.e. the formation of carbohydrates in living plants from inorganic matter under the influence of sunlight and chlorophyll. The discovery of this law brought him the Nobel prize in 1921 which he was not given for the Theory of Relativity. His works in the field of thermodynamics, the so-called Brown motion are of no lesser importance. These works place Einstein among the greatest physicists of our century, while his discovery of the theory of relativity makes him one of the greatest physicists of all times.

Parallel with this, this greatest scientist not only of our century acted as a civic leader, partisan of peace and an advocate of the principles and ideals of humanism. In this respect we Yugoslavs owe him especial gratitude for his energetic support of the struggle waged by the Communist Party of Yugoslavia against the barbarous methods by which the dictatorship of 6 January suppressed every progressive movement and idea. When requested for support, he sent his son (a Serb on his mother's side) to comrade Kosta Novaković the organiser of the propaganda struggle against the regime of police oppression, with the statement that his name can always be used for this cause.

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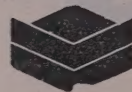
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